/119 cont./

000 621 431 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation -- is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance. 621 166 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion, namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a [361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their [342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. 262 245 194 166 The new place is chosen according to the possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting; nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this migration, for even during this period they continue to live from the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent [222] [224] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

/121 cont./

166 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each
22 other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism
241 of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today
182 as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun plantings, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually
621 made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new
182 plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the
● 174 working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

105 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social
621 units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural
182

/7 cont./

114 103 Demini and Aracá were first introduced into the literature by João Barbosa Rodrigues, although he did not write Demini, but rather Demeune (32), and the Rio Aracá was called Uaraca by him (33).

32. On maps of that period one likewise finds the entry Demeney.

33. Rodrigues, 1885, pp. 136, 148.

174 184 103 With regard to the name Demini, it may be assumed that the ending "ini," according to the linguistic studies of Koch-Grünberg (34a), is derived from the Aruak /Arawak/ word /eni" =

34a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 15.

172 323 river, water. This assumption is confirmed by many very old finds of shards which I discovered on the entirely unpopulated terra firma on the riverine lakes of the Demini. They are yellowish gray shards, which are decorated with spiral lines, meanders, and other plaiting designs and resemble the earthenware vessels which Koch-Grünberg described for the Aruak tribes (34b).

34b. Koch-Grünberg,1910a, pp. 227/28 and Ills. 152-155.

The fact that I found only shards is undoubtedly linked with the custom of the Aruak described by Koch-Grünberg, according to which all the clay vessels that belonged to a deceased person must be broken to pieces, for otherwise the spirit of the dead would punish the greed of the relatives (35).

35. Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, p. 151.

This would also confirm the surmise of Koch-Grünberg that at one time Aruak tribes coming from the west and southwest penetrated into the region between Rio Branco and Orinoco, which was

/7 cont./

114 inhabited by an old population living in a wholly primitive state.
● 174 The Aruak were said to have been subjugated later by the Karaiben /Carib/, who, in turn, met powerful resistance on the part of the warlike Xiriâna and Waikâ (36). Elsewhere the same

36. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 15/16.

investigator writes: "On the Merewari and upper Orinoco Karaiben live together with Arowaken, whereas the upper Uraricuéra and the Parima Range are entirely in the hands of the allophylian Schirianâ and Waika" (37). I, too, met neither Karaiben nor

37. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 233.

Aruak tribes in the Demini-Aracâ region.

114 131 174 On a tribal map of that region drawn by Nimuendajú (38),

38. This map is in the possession of the scientific division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro.

Xiriâna are given as the inhabitants of the Rio Demini, along with the date 1874. Rodrigues also reports that at the end of the nineteenth century members of this tribe lived both along the banks of that stream and along its tributaries, the Cuieiras and Mamimêu; from there they extended their roving expeditions as far as the Catrimani (39).

39. Rodrigues, 1885, p. 136.

173 115 [131] /8/ Today only one civilized Xiriâna family is living on the lower Demini as planters, but it no longer has any connection at all with its original, living fellow-tribesmen. This family, whose members speak Portuguese exclusively, told me that the region of the Demini has been the land of the Xiriâna from olden times. On account of frequent attacks on the part of the Waikâ,

/8 cont./

however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river. Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waikí tribe in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini, just below the Cachoeira Auatsinaua (40) (41). In 1939, the

40. Holdridge visited the Xirifna here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xirifna (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xirifna, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xirifna adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xirifna, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xirifna" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xirianá" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/8 cont./

114
174
101

41. (cont.)
pp. 8, 24, 52; Ribeiro, 1957, p. 99) have already become current. Nevertheless, I incline to the view that in the case of the Xirišána it is a matter of one and the same large, widely scattered Yanonámi tribe. The material and spiritual culture of the Xirišána with whom the Surára and Pakidái are allied (the latter and the Xirišána whom I met among them themselves regularly accent the first a) corresponds perfectly with the one that Koch-Grünberg calls "Schirianá." The latter points out in one work that "Schirianá" is their self-designation, while "Schirischána" is a name which their neighbors and mortal enemies, the "Maquiritáres," gave them (Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 454). It should also be mentioned that the designation "Shrirana," according to Vinci, is a Makuxí /Macusi/ word (Vinci, 1956, p. 107).

167 In 1939, the
648 Waikí, too, gave up this maloka and moved to the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini. Here, at the beginning of the year 1956, at the time of my stay among the Surára, they were attacked by a Xirišána tribe and destroyed. Surára warriors told me that all the Waikí men were killed and the women and girls were taken captives.

101 As inhabitants of the Rio Aracá, Nimuendajú entered on the
114 above-mentioned map of this region (see p. 16), with the date of 1874, the Bahuana, an Aruak tribe. With reference to this, the Surára chief remarked that this tribe also goes by the proper name of Pootarí and was an enemy of the Surára, Pakidái, Xirišána, etc.; at the present time it lives in the source region of the Aracá.

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
357 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc., are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
231 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the-
342 background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
• [194] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[191] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[199] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

/14 cont./

342 622 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

[354] [352] [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surára may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

[174]

241

2: Becher--33 E-6 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/16 cont./

342 In the building method described by me, however, the
• 177 circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts./
177 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obvi-
[114] ously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xirifana, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the cahoclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why
825

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the tierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

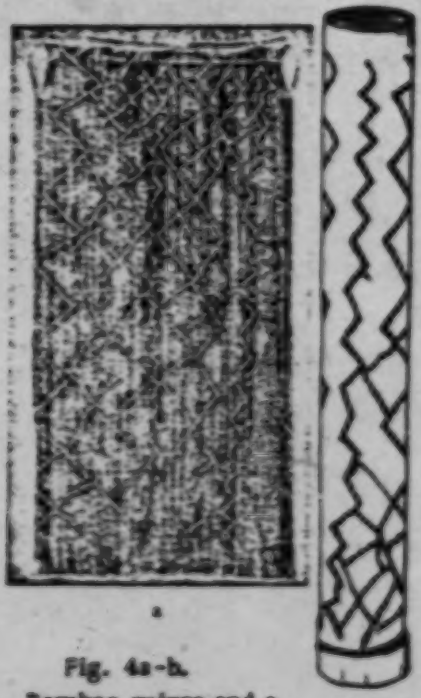
501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 411 194 173 411 726 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waikâ, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them

411 415 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b.
Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hfmo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xiriâna, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in 411 578 191 stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the 411 184 Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waiká and the sticks of the Surára and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is [174] therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the [581] most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

411 482 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

/27 cont./
283 left twist. Then she lets the spindle fall to a vertical position between her legs and rotate on the ground.

[191] This method belongs to Variation I of the Bakaïri spinning (127), which is extraordinarily characteristic for the

127. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 34 and 46.

Guiana tribes and which is described in a similar manner by Koch-Grünberg (128), Frödin-Nordenskiöld (129), Im Thurn (130),

128. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

129. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 52 and 56.

130. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 282.

and Roth (131).

131. Roth, 1929, p. 23 and Pl. I and II.

283 436 437 The spun threads are wound into round balls, which in this form are used as tribute payment to the Xiriâna (see pp. 159/160) and also represent popular trade items, exactly as in the case of the Arekunâ-Taulipang and their neighbors (132).

132. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

283 174 The cotton, the spindle, and the technique of spinning it to the left presumably reached the Surára and Pakidái from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes by way of the Xiriâna. The fact that cotton and spindle represent imports becomes clear in particular from the technique of the left twist, since in the case of the original material, the curauá fibers, the threads are always twisted to the right. Im Thurn already points out that in Guiana

[191] [114]

2. Becher--59 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/27 cont./

283 191 194 114

it is chiefly the Karaiben who spin thread out of cotton, and he believes that they also brought along cotton and the spindle when they immigrated into Guiana (133). The latter assumption

133. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 287.

has, however, not yet been proved, for on the upper Rio Negro Koch-Grünberg met Karaiben tribes who were acquainted with neither cotton nor the spindle. To an inquiry by Frödin and Nordenskiöld about this, he replied in a letter as follows: "It is an absolute mystery to me why the Indians on the upper Rio Negro do not plant cotton for spinning and have no spindles. It would be important to investigate how far this absence of spindles extends down the Rio Negro and into its tributaries, which, to be sure, from the Curicuriary downward, are almost completely unknown ethnographically" (134).

134. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 21, footnote 1.

283 184 194 114

Within the Yanomámi group, cotton and spinning are known, in addition to the Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái, also to the Pusheweteri, Aramameteri, and Karauateri, members of whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái, and also to the Karimé (135) and the Waiká, who, according to Schuster,

135. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 14.

presumably became acquainted with cotton through the Karaiben Makiritare (136).

136. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./

291 Waikâ use a hip cord to bind up the member, and, according to
184 a statement of the last-named author, the Xirišana too. There is further substantiation for the Karimé (147).

147. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

291 In connection with P. Schmidt (148) and Nordenskiöld (149),
191
184

148. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1047.

149. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 147/48.

I investigated this strange custom in my study, "Gürtel und Hüftschnüre südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Belts and Hip Cords of South American Primitive Peoples/," and found them verified for 39 tribes, to which six more are now added, the Surára, Pakidái, Pusheweterf, Aramamesterf, Karauaterf, and Karimé. It is even to be suspected that among all the tribes or groups that belong to the ethnic unit of the Yanomámi the membrum is tied
291 up. Since this custom is likewise common among the Pano and
191 Tukano /Tucano/ tribes, as well as among the Makú /Macu/, and
● 184 three San Agustín statues prove the pre-Columbian occurrence (150).

150. Preuss, 1929, I, p. 79; II, Plates 1; 55 (1); 64 (1).

the northwestern part of South America clearly stands out as the nuclear area and probably the area of origin of this very old custom. On the other hand, the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, which, according to the investigations up to now, did not immigrate into Guiana until later, do not observe it, with the exception of the Yauapery /Yauaperi/ (151), and

151. Hübner, 1907, p. 231.

the Tupí even regard the tying up of the penis as abominable

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./
and ridiculous (152) (153) (154).

152. Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 321/22.

153. Becher, 1951, I, pp. 180/81;
II, plate and Map No. 18.

154. Becher, 1955, pp. 144/45.

On festival and ceremonial occasions, men, women, and children from the age of four on also tie over the hip cord a cotton belt -- nyõ -- (155), which is always open in front. As

155. It is the same word that is used to designate the cotton hammock.

a rule, the belts are made by the women; bachelors, however, must make their own.

These are the string belts typical for Guiana (156) (157),

156. Becher, 1951, I, p. 169.

157. Becher, 1955, p. 138.

which, however, take on an appearance somewhat different from the familiar form because of wrappings or cross-bindings. /Fig. 6 appears here./

All the men's and boys' belts are roll-shaped and have a length of 70-80 centimeters and 40-50 centimeters, respectively. The diameter for the former is 4-5 centimeters, and for the latter, 2-3 centimeters. They are very simple to make, for around two small sticks thrust into the ground, the distance between them determining the length of the belt, a long cotton thread is looped until a thick layer is finally obtained. This is then simply tightly wound with a thin string of cotton or

/34 cont./

292 171 The neighboring Wapixana /Wapishana/ men (Aruak) /Arawak/), moreover, wear a very similar belt and attach to it a pubic band which is drawn between the legs (175).

175. Farabee, 1918, p. 29.

[648] [179] Since the Surára and Pakidái waged many wars with the Makuxí (the father of the Surára chief Hewemão is even supposed to have been killed by a Makuxí warrior), it would be entirely possible that they took over from this Karaiben /Carib/ tribe the form of the plaited, wide, flat belt, but then used it, not as men's, but as women's clothing.

179 297 [714] 184 The little fringed apron so typical for the Pusheweterí and Karimé women was also surely copied from Karaiben models, which, in turn, could have been borrowed from the Aruak, for Farabee confirms it also for Wapixana and Mapidian /Maopityan/ girls (176). According to Roth, a woven, red-dyed belt, the lower

292 171

176. Farabee, 1918, Pl. XXIX, A.

edge of which is fringed and, in addition, provided with three pendant tassels, is tied around young Makuxí and Wapixana girls on the occasion of their first menstruation. He designates this article of clothing as "apron belt" /cited in English/ (177). A

177. Roth, 1924, p. 437.

dyed belt provided with fringe is likewise documented for the Maiongkong (178) (179) and, /35/ according to Roth, resembles

178. R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, p. 215.

179. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, pp. 402/03.

000 the above-mentioned apron-belt (180). When Koch-Grünberg saw

180. Roth, 1924, p. 444.

Surára
Pakidái
Pusheweteri

292 /35 cont./ when Koch-Grünberg saw
•174 Xiriána women dressed in a little fringed apron (181), he had
199

181. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305 and Plates 45, 48 (4, 5).

reason to suspect that they may have taken over and preserved the ancient dress of the Maiongkong (Yekuaná) women. Thus, he writes: "They, too, were surely not originally peculiar to these Indians, for some of them wore the little apron up on their stomachs, on others it had slipped down halfway to the knees" (182).

182. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305, footnote 1, and p. 306.

Comparative investigations show that the cotton belts of the Surára, Pakidái, and Pusheweteri reached them from the outside, that is, directly from the Karaiben or by way of the Xiriána (183), along with cotton. With regard to the way they

183. According to Métraux, the Xiriána took over their dress from the Karaiben (Métraux, 1948, p. 863).

297 With regard to the way they
292 were worn and the use they were put to, however, there followed
174 a transformation process, which is very informative. That is, when, on the basis of the statements in the literature, I had traced in my dissertation all the motives that might have induced the South American primitive peoples to tie on belts and hip cords, the result was as follows: "It has been possible to prove that the idea of adornment plays only a secondary role, as does the magical motive. The feeling of modesty is entirely eliminated as a cause, and also verification for a sexual stimulus is lacking. On the other hand, the investigations show that the belts and hip cords primarily have the purpose of protecting the genital organs from insects, thorns, etc. (as a holding device for the upward-placed penis, the uluri, the pubic apeons, etc.)" (184) (185).

184. Becher, 1951, p. 192.
185. Becher, 1955, p. 153.

Surára
Pakidái

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
852 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
292 curauí fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xirifna, Pusheweteri, Aramamateri,
134 and Karauateri whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xirifna (Schiriana). Among the Arekuná-
191 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
• 179 cord of curauí fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

/42 cont./

304 824 386 412 197 The former use the juice of the genipap fruit as coloring matter, the latter the ashes of burned honey bees (229) /see footnote p. 90/. The original instrument everywhere for the puncturing of the dots was a palm thorn. Koch-Grünberg, however, also saw the use of pointed fragments of glass among the above-mentioned Karaiben (230).

230. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45.

304 174 171 114 A decision about whether the tattooings in the mouth region developed independently among the aforementioned Yanomámi, Karaiben, and Aruak tribes or whether they were brought about by reciprocal or outside influences cannot be reached as yet, although Koch-Grünberg saw a young Xirifána woman who had the fishhook and dot tattooing of the Arekuná-Taulipang painted on her face (231). This may have been an exception, however,

231. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

for, strangely enough, he did not find any further tattooing among the Xirifána.

179 The designs of the Surára and Pakidái also seem to be more primitive than the basic motifs of the Karaiben and Aruaken in the form of fishhooks, which clearly point to borrowings from civilization. Moreover, the fact that among the Karaiben tribes of Guiana individual men and boys are tattooed in the region of the mouth leads one to conclude that there has been a leveling of this custom. For probably there, too, it was formerly reserved for only the women, just as it is today among the Surára and Pakidái.

In conclusion, reference is to be made to P. Schmidt and Nordenskiöld, from whom there are already available brief, summary studies about puncture-tattooing in South America. The first-named author differentiates two groups, which are reserved for men and women or only for women, respectively, and regards a western origin as probable (232). /43/ On the other

/43 cont./

232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

304 194 191 114 hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A com-

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

prehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 h) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is [531] very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

[824] [386] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- narú --, a paste which is prepared from the red berries of Bixa orellana. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (Genipa brasiliensis) -- uarabé --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

/43 cont./

302 174 Since Koch-Grünberg also found only very little body painting among the Xirifna (Schirianá) (235), it is to be sus-

235. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

pected that originally it was not peculiar to the three Yanomámi tribes named, but is to be traced back to Karaiben influences. The following account by Alexander von Humboldt also points to this: "The custom," writes the great investigator, "of painting the body is not equally old among all the peoples on the Orinoco. It has only been since the frequent invasions by the mighty nation of the Caraiben into these lands that it has become more general. Victors and vanquished alike were naked, and in order to be agreeable to the victor, one was obliged to paint oneself as he did and to wear his color. Now the might of the Caraiben is past, they are confined to the region between the Carony, Cuyuni, and Paraguamuzi rivers, but the Caraiben custom of coloring the entire body has persisted; the practice is more enduring than the conquest" (236).

236. A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 92/93.

301 562 i) Feather ornaments

Feather ornaments -- pauxí -- are worn by men only and chiefly on the upper arms, but occasionally also in the perforations of the ear lobes and the lower lip.

301 825 237 Under the upper-arm cords and bands, which serve primarily as fastening devices for the upper-arm ornaments, individual or several tail feathers of the arara vermelha (Ara Macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- as well as small bunches of feathers, are wedged in front for war expeditions and festive occasions. The latter are always tied with a string of cotton or curauá fibers to a wooden stick 7-9 centimeters long (Ills. 9 and 14). The following list shows which birds are preferred as feather-suppliers for these objects:

/48 cont./

352 28 174 171 According to the clamification by Max Schmidt, who differentiates three groups for the plaiting technique in South America, the cotton hammocks made by the Surára and Pakidái would belong to the second

(284)

Fig. 19. End fanening of a liana hammock.

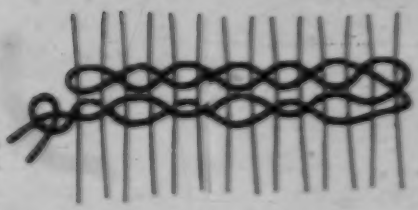


Fig. 20. Diagram of the interweaving of the end fanening of a liana hammock.

group, the double-thread plaiting, which the scholar characterizes as follows: "This plaiting method, which is widespread throughout America, North and South, is simply based, as the diagram in Fig. 115 shows, on two threads that are twisted around each other and are simultaneously, at each half twist around each other, wound around one of the bundles

2: Becher--104 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/48 cont./
352 of ribbons or fibers running parallel to one another" (259). "It is
286
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259. Max Schmidt, 1905, p. 228.

this double-thread technique," Ruth Haebler writes in her work, "Die geflochtenen Hängematten der Naturvölker Südamerikas /The Plaited Hammocks of the Primitive Peoples of South America/," "which is used in the manufacture of the plaited hammocks. The essence of the two-ply technique thus consists of stretching parallel threads which form a warp, so to speak, and through which the double thread is passed as a weft. As a result of the manner in which the warp is stretched, two completely different groups of plaited hammocks are produced" (260).

260. Haebler, 1919, p. 3.

The Surára and Pakidái hammocks are to be assigned to group two, which leads over to weaving (261), for here there is already

261. Haebler, 1919, pp. 9/10.

regular shed-formation. My observations among the Surára and Pakidái also agree almost exactly with the descriptions by Im Thurn (262) Ehrenreich (263), and Krause (264). This proves an

262. Im Thurn, 1883, pp. 288 ff.

263. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 22.

264. Krause, 1911, pp. 259 ff.

adoption from the outside, most probably from the Karaiben tribes, which took place presumably by way of the Xirián. It is noteworthy, however, that all the authors named say that the warp threads are stretched horizontally and that the weft is interlaced
350 from top to bottom or from bottom to top. From a photograph

2: Becher--105 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
pakidái
waica

352 /48 cont./ From a photograph
286
●174
184
taken by Zerries (265) it may be seen that the Waikâ make their

265. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, bottom.

cotton hammocks in the same way. With regard to the origin and technique, he writes in another place: "The cotton hammock of the Waika was taken over, in simplified form, from the Marikitare /Makiritare/ and, like theirs, is not woven, but merely knotted" (266). Although Zerries uses the expression

266. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

"knotted" /geknüpft/, this is probably the same type which I described for the Surára and Pakidái (267). This is even further

267. The names, too, are very similar, -- "nu" -- among the Waikâ (Zerries, 1955a, p. 84; 1954b, p. 71), and -- nyõ -- among the Surára and Pakidái.

elucidated by the following remarks of Schuster: "The cotton hammock, following, as a more recent form, these types made of wild material, exhibits as an essential difference, aside from the cultivated raw material, longitudinal threads held parallel and close together by cross-bindings. Apparently this hammock, whose length is determined by the bow-staff used as a crosspiece on the tying framework, is a clumsy imitation of the far more carefully worked hammock of the Karaiben Makiritare, who live in the northern and northwestern part of the Waika /49/ region" (268).

268. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

This cotton hammock of the Waikâ, clearly taken over from the Karaiben, thus completely corresponds in form to the one used by the Surára and Pakidái. But what induced the latter in making it to put the warp threads vertically, instead of horizontally, as among the other tribes, cannot yet be explained.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

285 462 824 More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 194 (191) This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type

272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275).

(179) (184)

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuëka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

/51 cont./

285 [192] [824] Then there are small baskets with handles and square bottoms -- yorohfkes -- (Ill. 36), in which women keep their ornaments, arm, leg, and chest cords, the spindle and balls of cotton. To make these, split lianas are again used. The technique employed is very primitive, for the plaiting strip is merely led [184] alternately over and under a plaiting strand (287). The shape of

287. Max Schmidt includes this technique in the first principal group of South American plaiting (Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 492/93).

these little baskets seems to be peculiar to the Surára and Pakidái, for in the literature I have not yet found a corresponding description with reference to other tribes.

285 824 372 Simple plaited fire-fans -- xuhéma -- are made of the leaf-stalk sheaths of the tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.). They have an elongated shape, and the ends of the strips are tied together to form a handle (Fig. 22).

285 372 174 171 Similar fans, but more evenly worked, were found by Koch-Grünberg among the Makiritare, Yekuaná /Yecuana/, and Guinaú in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco (288), from which one

288. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 345 and Pl. 24, 6.

might conclude that this object reached the Surára and Pakidái from here, probably by way of the Xiriána. The reverse route might also be possible, however, if only because most of the Karaiben and Aruak tribes of Guiana use fire-fans with a handle set crosswise (289).

289. Roth, 1924, pp. 291 ff., Pl. 78, 79, and Fig. 91.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

252
194
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/51 cont./

The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curaua plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in. Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

Surára
Waiká
Shiriana
Parauí

/55 cont./

412 The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their
[430] occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers)
[439] on the Rio Araçá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the
[124] middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors
412 had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always
192 given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the
439 ax -- hanhokomá. The blade alone is named synonymously,
194 whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomáhitohí. Most probably the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waiká (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the
412 Xirixána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg
194 writes: "They (the Xirixána) in former times apparently had no axes
114 at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

481

12. Equipment for Climbing

[139] To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the
[192] açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horohoromá -- which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

Surára
Pakidái

/56 cont./

481 222 The apparatus consists of two devices completely alike, which are fastened and used in the following manner: Two sticks, 1.60-1.80 meters long, whose diameter is 12-15 centimeters, are tied to the trunk scissors-like and loosely with lianas. The downward-pointing rear part of these crossed sticks is also wound with lianas. Above this first climbing apparatus a second one is attached in the same manner. The Indian who wishes to climb the pupunha palm now stands on the rear end of the lower "scissors" and pushes the one above it upward a short distance. Then he climbs on the rear end of the upper "scissors" and pulls the lower one after him. Next he shifts back to the lower climbing device and pushes the top one up a bit farther. Thus, by constantly changing his position and pushing one apparatus up and drawing the other one after him, he reaches the crown in 4-5 minutes (Ill. 39). He picks the ripe fruits and lets them down one by one on a liana, where his fellow tribesmen receive them. The descent is the reverse of the ascent.

481 222 194 I venture to doubt that this magnificent technical invention was developed by the Waikâ, Surára, or Pakidái, above all because the rest of their material culture is extraordinarily poor. There is nothing to indicate an import, however. Influences of civilization are likewise out of the question, for the caboclo population (planters, rubber /57/ and palm-fiber gatherers) in the Demini-Aracá area is unfamiliar with the technique described; they knock down the pupunha fruits with long poles.

303 13. Preparation of Urucú

The red coloring urucú -- nará -- with which the Indians paint their bodies as well as their implements, is made by the women from the red seeds of the Bixa orellana which are found in thorny capsules. The seeds are cooked in a vessel until only a red sediment remains on the bottom, which is shaped into lumps and allowed to dry. With this the Indians are then able to paint themselves at any time; the color must first be moistened, however, with a little water or saliva.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/75 cont./

619 already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
651 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
576 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon
574 hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178
241 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had
622 been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in
000 all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

/80 cont./

245 [262] Among the vegetable foods of the Surára and Pakidái, bananas, of which I found nine different varieties, occupy first place today. Of these, in turn, the most frequently cultivated is the mealy banana (Musa paradisiaca normalis; the regional caboclo population calls it pacovinha) -- kuratí -- (372).

[174]

372. With regard to its origin, Sauer writes: "The plantains and bananas (Musa paradisiaca) originated in southeastern Asia and were there bred into a great variety of seedless cultivated forms. Their presence in the New World is considered by many as due to post-Columbian introduction" /cited in English/ (Sauer, 1950, p. 526).

192 245 Kuratí, however, is also the general designation for all bananas (373). In addition, the following special names were

[184]

373. Zerries gives the same name with regard to the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956b, pp. 152, 155), and Koch-Grünberg gives the following names for the Karaiben Arekunâ-Taulipang /Arecuna/: "kurá:tana," "kura:tana'," or "kuratanâ" (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 47, 268). The corresponding Xiriâna designation, namely, "kalatá:ke," is very similar (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 306). This definitely proves that the banana, or at least one variety, reached the Waikâ, Xiriâna, Surára, and Pakidái from Karaiben tribes. The myth concerning the origin of the banana, which the Surára chief told me (see p.249), also shows that this fruit came from the outside only in very recent times.

[174]

given me for the other eight varieties (374):

[184]

374. The Waikâ, too, use very similar terms for certain varieties of bananas (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153):

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[104]
[184]

/81 cont./
mention such seedless fruits (382).

382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waiká the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

244

The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohĩná -- (383), cará or yams (Dioscorea

383. Among the Waiká the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

sp.) -- cahiromá -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mihitarima -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakõke --, and sweet potatoes
249
243
(Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarí -- (384). Worth mentioning

384. The Waiká call the sweet potato "higali" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukĩ -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waiká have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184]

386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waiká. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 But their enmity was expressed to an even greater degree between each other, that is to say, between the dogs of the post personnel and those of the Pakidái, for if they merely saw each other, they were immediately at each other's throats.

• 174 With regard to the origin of these two breeds of dogs, which
231 have probably been raised for centuries by the Surára and Pakidái, nothing definite can as yet be said. The first breed mentioned by me, which seems to resemble our shepherd dog, seems to be a quite typical Indian dog, for it corresponds exactly to the description which Friederici gives of a genuine Indian dog: "The general appearance of the pure Indian dog, so far as one can tell from descriptions and drawings, is a picture of the German shepherd dog, the so-called Thuringian strain, with somewhat more of the wild-dog character and with rough or bristly hair" (417). Friederici

417. Friederici, 1899, p. 362.

was concerned here, to be sure, with the Indian dog of North America, but, according to Alexander von Humboldt, this breed was already confirmed for Guiana in pre-Columbian times, as may be seen from the following quotation: "...nevertheless it has been confirmed that before the conquest in Peru, New Grenada and Guiana there was a breed of dog similar to our shepherd /87/
[184] dogs" (418). Among the Waiká, Zerries, strangely enough, did not

418. Alexander von Humboldt, 1890, IV, p. 189.

come across this type of dog, but only the small, short-haired one that resembles the fox terrier, and he suspects that they are in part still descended from the dogs that came with the first immigrants from Asia by way of the Bering Strait about 15,000 years ago (419).

419. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

The following account by Franz Termer, however, shows that definite proof is lacking for the latter assumption. The scholar

/87 cont./

231 writes: "Whether the first hunter-gatherer hordes migrating to
● 174 America from northeastern and northern Asia by way of the Bering Strait brought the dog along has, apart from the Eskimo dog, not as yet been proved with certainty, even though it is probable. Whether the dogs of the New World can be traced back to such early dogs, that is, of the late glacial to early postglacial times, migrating in with human beings, or whether they have come from autochthonous ancestors of New World origin is a zoological problem that cannot be decided here. Opinions about it differ. In most recent times there seems to be more of a tendency to favor a Neotropical origin of Indian dogs" (420). In this last statement

420. Termer, 1957, p. 2.

Termer refers to comments by Gilmore (421).

421. Gilmore, 1950, p. 377.

235 [439] [177] In contrast to the obscure origin of the two breeds of dogs, there is no doubt about that of the cocks -- cacará --, for these were acquired from the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) by barter only a short time ago. Yet I was very much surprised when, on entering the Surára and Pakidái malokas, I found a large number of cocks but no hens (422), although they could

422. Incidentally, these are also called cacará.

obtain these as well. There is no interest in doing so, however, for they keep cocks only for their colorful plumage and their crowing at dawn (423). Most families have one or two, which they

[231] [171]

423. Ehrenreich reports of the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe, that they keep only dogs and cocks as domestic animals, and that the latter were very popular in particular as sentinels (Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 61).

/93 cont./

793 191

455. (cont.)
longer exist as a tribal unit, it is believed that civilized people and hostile Indian tribes came out of the inflamed and swollen calves of the first man, Aipuku (Oberg, 1953, p. 108).

773 184 the polyandrous feature in common, for the woman had a boy (Surára and Pakidái) (see p. 247) or several children (Waiká)(456)

456. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

by the men.

796 174 184 /94/ In the religious world of thought of the Waiká one also finds ideas that are very contradictory. Thus, "Omaua" is regarded, on the one hand, as the Supreme Being and creator of the earth and of mankind, and, on the other hand, is thought of as an actual enemy of the Waiká who is closely linked with alien tribes in the west and with the whites, as well as with their pernicious influences, diseases, puzzling cultural possessions [782] (motor, gasoline, etc.) (457). Furthermore, it is noteworthy

457. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

that in white and black magic "Omaua" is directly invoked (458)

458. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

(the Surára and Pakidái communicate with Poré/Perimbó only through intermediaries), and that there lives with him a cannibalistic creature, "Omayali," which, according to Zerries, presumably represents a hypostasis of the former (459). He believes,

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459. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

however, that "Omaua-Omayali" is an import from another culture

/94 cont./

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●174
[171]
area and cites corresponding parallels from Aruak /Arawak tribes of northwestern Brazil as well as from Karaiben /Carib/ of Guiana (460), which are augmented by Haekel (461). The last-

460. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

461. Haekel, 1959, p. 41.

named scholar then poses the question: "Did the Waika, prior to this foreign influence, lack the conception of a Supreme Being?" (462)

462. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

He assumes that the idea of a Supreme Deity in the sense of the Surára and Pakidái related to them might have been familiar to them, since in the ethnic groups named the moon, or the lord of the moon, occasionally comes down to earth, and, as a further link, he mentions the idea of a heavenly paradise of the
[171] souls (463). Then Haekel points out that the Surára and Pakidái

463. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

as well as the Waiká, in a religious-mythological respect, show remarkable similarity with the following Karaiben /Carib/ tribes (464), though it should be noted that some link the Supreme

464. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

Being with the moon and others with the sun (465): Kâchuyana

465. Haekel, 1959, p. 35.

(Kashuiéna /Cashuena/) (even the name of the Supreme Being is very similar in this case, Purá) (466) (467), Barama (468),

466. Kruse, 1955, pp. 404 ff.

467. Polykrates, 1957, pp. 138 ff.

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

/94 cont./

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174
[171]

468. Gillin, 1936, pp. 155 ff.

Kalina (469), Wajana (Oyana) (470), Makiritare (471).

469. de Goeje, 1943, pp. 26 ff.

470. Ahlbrinck, 1956, p. 26.

471. Cruxent, 1953, pp. 325 ff.

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"The suggested parallels," Haekel goes on to say, "between Yanoama and Carib call attention, in any case, to a series of problems for which we are still far from a solution today. The probability of historical relationships can undoubtedly not be overlooked. But who were the 'givers,' who the 'receivers'? It is obvious that the Surara-Pakidai and Waika lie within the sphere of influence of Cariban tribes, but in my opinion there is no justification for thinking merely of influences from the Carib in connection with the similarities coming to light. One should also take into consideration the fact that Yanoama and Carib participated jointly in an older substratum" (472). On

472. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

this point I agree with Haekel completely. I also share certain reservations that he has with regard to the avowed western orientation of the Waiká or the Yanonámi culture (473), which

473. Haekel, 1959, pp. 43/44.

Zerries represents (474). True, there is much in favor of it,

474. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

among other things a definite form of endocannibalism and the ritual taking of a narcotic snuffpowder. Further proof might be seen in the fact that among the Ipurina on the Rio Purús the

Surára
Pakidái

/94 cont./

776 174 171 114 moon -- "pati" -- is venerated as Supreme Being and "father," who causes the fruits to grow (475). In this case, however,

475. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 72.

Ehrenreich believes that there has been Christian influence. Among the Sáliva in southern and eastern Colombia /95/ one also finds certain features in the religion and mythology which are reminiscent of those of the Yanonámi and Karaiben, and the Supreme Being worshiped by them is called "Puru" (476), a

476. H. v. Walde-Waldegg, 1936, pp. 40 ff.

name which sounds very similar to Poré and "Purá." Haekel further points out that the religion of the Sáliva shows marked agreement with the neighboring Aruak Achagua (477), which

477. Haekel, 1959, pp. 45/46.

was described by Hernandez de Alba (478). Moreover, it should

478. Hernandez de Alba, 1948, pp. 410 ff.

be mentioned that the Guahibo Indians on the Venzuelan banks of the Orinoco, according to Zerries, have taken over their deity, Purnaminali, from the Achagua or Sáliva (479).

479. Zerries, 1956c, p. 232.

776 171 But in the eastern regions of Guiana there are also significant parallels with respect to the religious and mythological conceptions of the Yanonámi mentioned. Reference has already been made to the Kachuyana and their Supreme Being, Purá (see p. 205). They are even more strongly pronounced among the Warrau /Warao/. In their moon myth about "Aboré" and "Wowtáh" the moon has the character of a culture hero (480),

480. Brett, 1880, p. 76.

/179 cont./

619 Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local
[621] groups which form a band of extended families and provide the
[596] peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclandub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

[84] From what has been published up to the present regarding
[74] the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the
128 Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to
[799] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Sanema

Casapare

Pemon 5516

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Urariçapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutaní. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auarí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

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101 /189 cont./ The expansion of the Sanemá to the north, that is, from the Padamo to the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, is relatively recent, but, to judge from the data given us by glottochronology, the separation of the various groups of the subtribe corresponds to 600-1,700 years. We established contact with three northern groups of the Sanemá: the Nabudub of the upper Ventuari, the Taclaudub of the upper Caura, and the Pubmatari of the Canaracuni. They apparently represent Sanemá groups which are quite well established, and the internal distance of this linguistic family is, in a way, surprising.

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184 The Sanemá of the Padamo and of the upper Orinoco are practically unknown to science, and it is expected that the cultural difference between them and their brothers who live north of 4° and in close contact with the Makiritare is relatively pronounced.

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167 The geographic separation of the Sanemá into a southern group and another northern one is recent and is due to the fact that in 1947 Captain Cardona had to make a landing field on the Canaracuni (personal communication), and, since there were no Indians in the zone to help him in his venture, he went to Brazil and brought the first Sanemá to this region of Venezuela.

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167 This date marks the beginning of the infiltration of the Yanoama
Y element on a larger scale into the land of the Makiritare, their
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648 neighbors on the northwest, with whom they have lived in deep enmity from remote times. While the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma still do not tolerate large groups of Yanoama in their territory, those of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura live in close contact

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[179] with large groups of the Sanemá subtribe. This was the way in which Makiritare culture of the tropical selva type penetrated to that essentially /190/ preagricultural tribe composed of hunters

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648 and gatherers with a very rudimentary culture. The Sanemá received extremely bad treatment at the hands of the Makiritare, comparable to that received by a slave at the hands of his master, for which reason toward the year 1950 the Sanemá revolted against

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[411] the Makiritare and declared a war without quarter against them. It was then that the different Makiritare subtribes united to repulse the Sanemá, whom they conquered in various encounters, thanks to their fire-arms.

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 114 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 128 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have considered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 192 The linguistic material which the author of the present work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 192 ●174 197 In order to classify this material within the different Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 197 174 126 127 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabularies were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956, pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

/192 cont./

127 192 197 174 The Casapare vocabulary was taken from Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308). It has 303 entries in all, 65 of which corresponds to the basic vocabulary. There is another Casapare vocabulary compiled by Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108), which has a total of 232 entries, 54 words of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. From the expedition's itinerary we know that the last-mentioned authors visited the Shirianá of the Paramichí River (tributary of the headwaters of the Paragua), a zone considered in the present work as an extension of the Casapare territory of Brazil.

Koch-Grünberg obtained his vocabulary among the Schirianá of the Uraricapará (1923, p. 288), and a comparison of the two vocabularies seems to indicate a closer affinity between them than that which exists with any other Yanoama language. The glottochronological calculation is based on Koch-Grünberg's material.

The Waica vocabulary comes from Dr. Zerries, who generously furnished us a basic one of 96 words of the Waica of the upper Orinoco.

Recently another vocabulary of the same language was published by /map appears here/ /193/ Anduze (1958, pp. 258-267), which contains 369 entries. The present calculation is based on the material provided by Zerries.

We give the "Samatari" vocabulary this name provisionally, for more precisely it is the idiom of the Surara and Pakidai of the Demini River in Brazil. The material was given to us by Dr. Becher in the form of a basic vocabulary which contains 85 words. Between the Surara and Pakidai there exist only slight dialectal differences. A vocabulary of 40 words of the same idiom was published in the monograph on these Indians by Becher (1960, pp. 136-137). Another vocabulary of the southern Yanoama was published by Seitz (1960, p. 306) and contains 40 entries. The few words which permit making a semantic comparison with other similar languages indicate that the Araraibo-Xamatari of Seitz is closer to the Surara, Pakidai, Waica, and Karimé than to the Sanemá and Casapare.

[text continues on p. 44]

/193 cont./

• 174 197 [192] 127]

We were not able to obtain the vocabulary of the Karimé published by Salathé (1932, pp. 314-316). Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 134-138) places it between the Waica and the Casapare (Schiriana of Koch-Grünberg).

According to the results of the lexico-statistical calculation (cf. p. 47), it can be said that the idioms compared form a linguistic conglomerate whose internal divergences date from 6-35 minimal centuries (mc). By their temporal distribution they constitute two more or less distinct groups: a) a Sanemá family with Nabudub, Sanemá, and Pubmatari, with an internal divergence of 6-17 mc., and b) a Casapare family with Samatari, Waica, and Casapare and with an internal divergence of 8-21 mc. The extreme languages are Nabudub (of the Sanemá) and Casapare. The distance of the Waica from the three Sanemá idioms corresponds to 17 mc., which is the same as the maximum internal distance of the Sanemá family, and the Nabudub have the same difficulty in understanding a Pubmatari or a Waica; they should, however, understand each other, although with some difficulty. The Waica has greater ties with the Samatari, with whom he can communicate orally without any great difficulty.

Other classifications of the Yanoama idioms were made by Rivet (1924, p. 678), Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9), Mason (1950, p. 254), Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140), McQuown (1955), Swadesh (1959), and Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137).

Koch-Grünberg (1913, pp. 455-458) had established by 1913 the independence of the Yanoama idiom (Shiriana) from the Caribe and added that the idiom apparently represented an isolated language. Rivet (1924, p. 678) and W. Schmidt (1926, p. 211) shared the opinion of Koch-Grünberg regarding the affiliation and independence of the "Shirishana" family. /194/ The classification of the "Shirishana Family" by Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140) includes the following idioms:

Shirishana Family [101]

a) Shirishana (or Guaharibo), who live dispersed in small groups in the interior, along the tributaries of the

/194 cont./

174 197 101 Uraricuera and on the southern slopes of the Sierra de Parima;

b) Karime (or Shaufri), on the Catemany River in the same region;

c) Waika, who live on the upper Ocamo and Mocajahy, right tributaries of the upper Orinoco;

d) Pusárakáu, an unknown wild tribe which lives in the Sierra Parima.

174 197 [127] As we mentioned above, we are inclined to differentiate between Shirishana (Casapare) and Guaharibo (Sanemá), which would seem to be linguistically justified by the distance of 23-35 mc between them. Rivet bases his opinion, it would seem, on Koch-Grünberg's material (1928), which we have also used in our comparison. The Pusárakáu idiom (d), which also appears in Loukotka's classification (1944, pp. 8-9), is a completely unknown idiom and therefore does not figure in Mason's classification (1950, p. 254), which presented the following Shirishaná grouping:

SHIRISHANÁ

[101] A.--Waharibo (Guaharibo)

1. Shirianá

a) Waicá (Guaica, Uaica)

B.--Carimé (Karimé)

174 197 114 According to Mason, Shirianá and the less important Carimé are the principal idioms of the family. This observation is based upon Koch-Grünberg's material (1928, Shiriana), which was identified in our comparison as Casapare, and, as the greater separation of the Yanoama stock corresponds to that language, we must admit the value of Mason's opinion. Carimé does not figure in our classification.

Furthermore, Mason is of the opinion that the Waica idiom is, possibly, a dialect of Shirianá (Casapare), but, according to the glottochronological calculation, he does not seem to be on firm ground. The distance between the two idioms is 21 mc, which is much greater than a dialectal difference of 5-7 mc. Waica appears on the graph as closer to Sanemá (17-18mc). The opinion of /195/ many researchers that Shirianá (Casapare) and Waica are descended from the Guaharibo (Sanemá) seems to have some justification.

/195 cont./

●174 197 114 McQuown (1955) classified the "Chirianan" family in the following way:

a) Guahariban with Chirianan, Uaica and ? Guaharibo; b) Carime; c) Pusaracau.

A more recent classification of the Yanoama family was made by Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137). By their internal distances the author just mentioned brought together the various Yanoama idioms in the following manner: Surara and Pakidai (Samatari), Waika, Karimé, Shirianá (Casapare), Warema (Sanemá, Pubmatari) (19).

19. The names in parenthesis were added by the present author.

Dall'Igna Rodrigues arrived at this result on the basis of a comparison of 40 words of the idioms mentioned and explains that the idioms of his list were arranged according to the relative distance between each one of them with respect to Surara and Pakidai. He also emphasizes the provisional nature of his result, somewhat different from those presented by Mason and McQuown.

It is interesting, however, to observe that the classification of Dall'Igna Rodrigues coincides in its details with ours. On adding the lexico-statistical data, the classification would read as follows:

Surará-Pakidai (Samatari) 8 mc > Waica; 21mc > Shirishaná (Casapare); 21-25 mc > Warema (Sanemá).

Two American linguists, Greenberg and Swadesh, recently broke with the tradition established by Rivet, W. Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown, according to which the Yanoama had no close affiliation with any other South American linguistic family.

Greenberg (1956) classifies the Shirianá as a distinct group in the "Chibchan proper" subfamily of the "Macro Chibchan" family. The Tunebo also belong to the same category.

Swadesh (1959, p. 20) established a Macro-Siriana, with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc) and

/195 cont./

114 Sirisana (21 mc). According to what Dr. Swadesh said to me
● 174 personally, he also planned to include the Warao in Macro-
197 Siriana, which would magnify the internal divergence of the group to 72 mc of a microphylum. I took some interest in this suggestion by Swadesh and tried to compare Warao with Yanoama, particularly with the more extensive vocabulary which I collected among the Sanemá.

I made two comparisons: a) that of the basic vocabularies, and b) that of all the possible pairs between the Sanemá vocabulary and the Warao /196/ dictionary by Barral (1957). The results of these comparisons can be expressed in the following manner: More than 20% of all the pairs compared seem to be related, a sufficiently high percentage to stimulate a more thorough linguistic study. The result of the preliminary glottochronological calculation gave a separation between the two idioms of 45 mc corresponding to 26% of common retentions.

I have the impression that that mathematical result tends to diminish and not to become greater as one goes further into his study. We also observed certain relationships between the Yanoama and the Ye /Ge/ of Brazil. But these are of a different nature and more distant than the cases considered between the Warao and Sanemá.

As we have already mentioned, there are certain indications that the Tunebo, Warao, Yanoama, and Ye idioms seem to have a common root in Chibcha and are linguistically more closely related among themselves than with the majority of South American idioms.

4: Wilbert--48 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

/196 cont./

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Idioms	Pairs	Cognates	%	mc.
1. SAMATARI				
2. Casapare	62	35	56	21
3. Sanemá	81	42	52	22
4. Pubmatari	65	33	51	25
5. Nabudub	79	42	53	21
6. Waica	80	62	78	8
2. CASAPARE				
3. Sanemá	53	24	45	29
4. Pubmatari	57	30	53	23
5. Nabudub	61	23	38	35
6. Waica	54	30	56	21
3. SANEMA (Erebato)				
4. Pubmatari	69	54	78	9
5. Nabudub	82	69	84	6
6. Waica	89	53	60	17
4. PUBMATARI (Casaracuni)				
5. Nabudub	65	40	65	17
6. Waica	71	43	61	18
5. NABUDUB (Vennari)				
6. Waica	86	51	59	17

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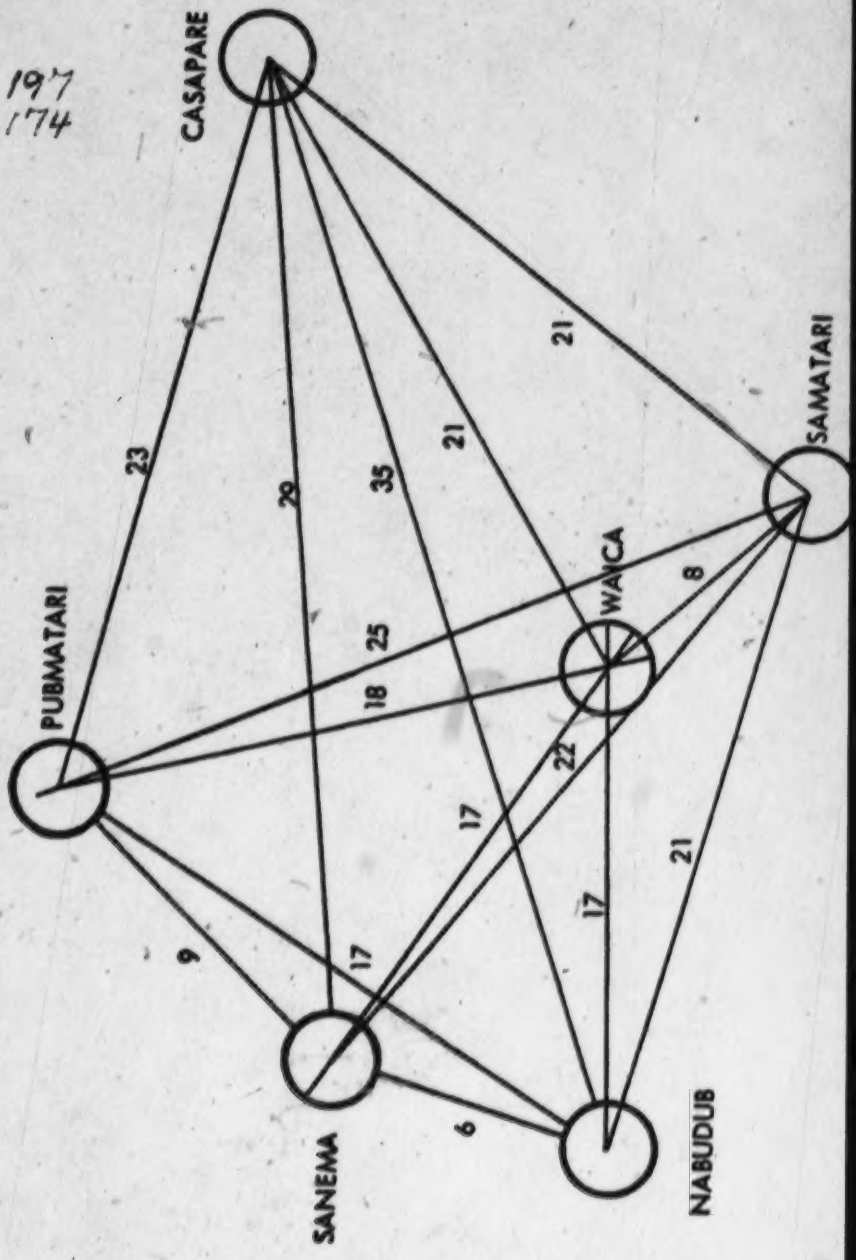
CASAPARE
SAMATARI
PUBMATARI
WAICA
SANEMA
NABUDUB
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/212 cont./ We were greatly surprised to find this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).

The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists who have studied this matter is that it is a matter of a Circum-Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence, owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have, however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

[i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

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• 174 Regarding the Chibcha characteristics in the Warao and Yanoama idioms, it is probably a substratum which we shall provisionally call proto-Chibcha. The Chibcha traits which are perceived in them do not seem to represent elements acquired owing to contact, but rather an ancient stratum common to the idioms which are at the present time identified as Chibcha.

143 Finally, it is necessary to point out that, judging from the genetic
174 constitution (the Diego antigen) of some Chibcha tribes, it might be surmised that the highly formative culture was introduced by people genetically different from the Marginal Chibcha such as Tunebo, Barí, Warao, Yanoama, whose culture was favorably conditioned in the direction of the adoption and the increment of formative cultures and indigenous civilizations. Some tribes were absorbed by the invaders; others, such as the tribes that we have just mentioned, maintained their independence. Perhaps we shall have to deal with greater emphasis in the future with primitive reminiscences in the formative cultures instead of talking so much about traits and loans from the west among the Marginals of Guayana /Guiana/ and others. We have the impression that we are bringing out a complex of ancient culture in South America, from which a number of traits have survived in the more highly developed cultures.

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[624] Political duties are performed by a chief /jefe/ and a mili-
[793] tary leader. We are of the opinion that the priest can at the same time be the chief of a local group. We cannot, however, make a categorical affirmation, owing to the confusion which exists among the people as a consequence of the strong cultural current which is invading this Sanemá nucleus. In the same group on the Ventuari we observed that the office of chief is inherited patrilineally. The old chief had left his duties to his eldest son, about 28 years old, and it was easy to see that his younger brother, about 20 years old, was also respected as a possible future chief (cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61. Chieftainships over more than a local group do not exist.

Duffy: The Fy (a+) ranged in these tribes from 77% to 92%, which is the usual range found in Indian tribes. 143

Kidd: The gene Jk^a showed comparable results in Yaruro 49% and in Waica 56%. The Warao were not tested for this gene.

Diego: As was mentioned before, the Waica showed absence of the gene Di^a; the Warao had a negative frequency among the Winikina sub-tribe and 1.9% among the Guayo sub-tribe; the Yaruro showed five Diego-positive cases out of 102 samples, but four of them were derived from eleven samples taken from a single band. For reasons mentioned elsewhere, the authors suggested that the Warao as well as the Yaruro were originally Diego-negative, and that their low Di^a frequencies are due to admixture with neighboring tribes exhibiting a relatively high frequency of the gene.

Other Blood Groups

The tribes tested for Lutheran, Kell, and Lewis showed negative frequency for Lu^a, K, and Le^a, as is seen also in other Indian tribes with non-Indian admixture.

As can be gathered from these comparisons, it is mainly on the basis of the Di^a gene that we could establish a sharply contrasting difference between the Marginal tribes and other South American tribes tested so far (Goajiro 8%, Paraujano 10%, Munduruku 12%, Guahibo 14%, Caingang 17-46%, Aymara 17%, Caribs [Cariña 29%, Pemon 28%, Yupa 27%]), etc. . .

DISCUSSION

In a previous section we have tried to indicate that the absence or a very low frequency of the Diego gene appears to coincide with a culture pattern typical for hunting, fishing and gathering tribes of South America. On several other occasions [19] it has been pointed out as well that there seems to exist a coincidence of certain levels of cultural developments with characteristic ranges of Diego frequencies, and that these frequencies tend to be quantitatively similar or identical between tribes of "genetic" linguistic affiliation, in the sense Greenberg [20] uses the term. For Venezuela we have, in particular, made mention of the low frequency or absence of the Diego gene among the Waica, Warao, and Yaruro who exhibit a Marginal or Paleo/Meso-Indian type of culture. 143 114 104

We have also indicated that this parallel occurrence of Diego gene distribution and the culture pattern of its bearers coincides to a certain extent with a similar

19 Layrisse and Wilbert, 1960.
20 Greenberg, 1959.

St Laytime et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

classification, based on somatological and phenotypical characteristics of the American Indians as proposed by Coon, Garn, and Birdsell,[21] who distinguished between dolicephalic and somewhat mongoloid *Marginal American Indians*, and broader headed less mongoloid *Central American Indians. As a parallel and, of course, not as a causal phenomenon*, the cited authors (very much like the present authors) record that the *Marginal American Indians* include largely non-agricultural Indians of the Americas, while the latter are agricultural peoples of North and South America, especially of the central part. This observation receives substantial support from the recorded facts of the Diego gene distribution, and its importance for migration theory and culture history of South America may be significant. In the given frame of the present paper we shall restrict ourselves to the discussion of the importance of the absence of the Diego gene mainly among two Marginal tribes of Venezuela, the Waica and the Warao, trying to indicate a possible direction for future Diego research.[21a]

In a recent study, Canals Frau [22] observed that the oldest stratum of *Homo sapiens* in America was composed of five distinct racial types, i.e., the *Silvidos*, the *Sonóridos*, the *Láguidos*, the *Patagónidos*, and the *Huárpidos*, and that the last three were of South American distribution. It is interesting to recall in this connection that Canals Frau includes the Waica and the Piaroa in this antique stratum within which great phenotypical variation has been observed by Vinci, for the Yanoama, and by Baumgartner for the Piaroa.[23] It would seem that the actual occurrence of this variation in one and the same group could best be interpreted by fusion and interbreeding of the different racial types of Paleo-American Man.

Because of his early appearance, the culture of this Paleo-American Man will necessarily have been on a Paleo-Indian (hunters), and later Meso- Indian (fishermen) level of development.[24] Kirchhoff,[25] in referring to the hunting and fishing Marginals of Venezuela, observed that the "differences in subsistence are correlated with other cultural differences, indicating that there was not one basic culture type, but two, the Hunting Culture and the Fishing Culture;" that "Each in turn was divided into at least two subtypes," and that "Without further comparative research, it is impossible to say whether these subtypes were simply local variants of the two basic types or whether they too sprang from different origins."

21 Coon, Garn, and Birdsell, 1950.
21a Layrisse and Wilbert, 1961.
22 Canals Frau, 1959.
23 Vinci, 1956; Zerries, 1959; Baumgartner, 1954.
24 Cf. Rouse, 1960.
25 Kirchhoff, 1948, p. 443.

StLayrine et al. D.E-S (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

The most typical representative of the Hunters among modern Venezuelan Indians are the Yanoama, while the most typical example of a people of Fishermen culture can be seen in the Warao. It is interesting for the discussion of Kirchhoff's problem that Swadesh (personal communication) suggests a linguistic affiliation between Yanoaman and Waraoan; interesting, because it is generally accepted that "genetic" linguistic relationship is most likely to have biological significance, since the ancestors of the speakers of genetically related languages[26] once belonged to the same gene pool.

In following up Swadesh's suggestion, the present authors have compared (a) the basic vocabularies of Yanoaman and Waraoan, and (b) all available pairs of about 1000 Yanoama (Sanemá) words with their equivalents in the Warao dictionary recently published by Barral.[27] As a result of this comparison, more than twenty percent of the total pairs compared appeared to be cognate; a percentage certainly high enough to encourage further research. A preliminary glottochronological calculation resulted in 45 mc of separation, which corresponds to twenty six percent of common retentions. Accepting this result as a strong *prima facie* case, it would suggest that the *Yanoama* and *Warao* originally united, separated from each other some 4,500 years ago.[28]

If we compare the blood group phenotype frequencies found in these two tribes, we see that only the frequencies at Diego are very similar, whereas MN, Rh, and Duffy showed statistically significant variations. It is generally accepted that significant differences of gene frequencies in two populations are indicative of different origin, but in comparing small isolated populations, such as most Indian tribes, this statement may not be applicable without allowing for certain restrictions. The gene frequencies in these populations may, for instance, reflect the fortuitous results of gene drift, since in a population with an effective size of 200, an allele would require a selective advantage of 0.01 to avoid the action of drift.[29]

In our case, we are comparing the gene frequencies of blood groups, the majority of which have, until now, been considered to be of neutral selective value. Although the Waica and the Warao belong to the most numerous Indian tribes of Venezuela and lowland South America (8-10,000), they have been living in smaller isolated groups which might have favored the production of gene drift. On this basis, then, one could consider gene drift as the most probable explanation for the phenotype differences of the Rh, MN, and Duffy systems, especially, if we take into consideration a possible 4,500 years lapse of time since their separation.

26 Greenberg, 1955.
27 Barral, 1957.
28 Wilbert, 1961b.
29 Glass, Sanbo, Jahn, and Hsu, 1952.

St Layrisse et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

We would best interpret our general culture historic problem in the sense of suggesting that there exists a high probability for the two different populations and culture types to represent simply variants of basically the same people and the same culture type. Archaeologists[30] have proved that the Meso-Indian culture type dates back to 4150 ± 80 BP (Manicuare), so that the *Warao* Meso-Indian culture type could actually date back to the time of their splitting off from the *Yanoama* who, for their part, continued to live in the Paleo-Indian tradition, and which, in turn, may date back to its most original form in Venezuela to 16,000 ± 300 BP and more.

In our particular case, then, the establishment of the genetic identity of two tribes with respect to the Diego blood gene has led us to assume that Paleo-American Man in Venezuela, although phenotypically different, is homogeneous for the Diego gene. Probably, in response to a changing environment, he developed two different culture types still traceable among his modern descendants. A detailed analysis of the contents of both cultures would greatly substantiate this hypothesis, but in the limited frame of the present paper we shall have to refrain from doing so.

In closing this discussion, we would like to underline the preliminary character of our hypothesis. The culture content of the Waica and of the Warao has not been fully described as yet; the linguistic affiliation of the two tribes remains to be confirmed by profound linguistic analysis; and genetically we have little more to go by than the behavior of mainly one gene. Nevertheless, taken together this kind of threefold evidence, in spite of all the existing limitations, appears to be much stronger than the single evidence available for any one of them, and it would be highly desirable to test similar cases along the lines described above.

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30 Crossen and Bueno, 1958-59, vol. 1, tables 2 and 3.

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

[313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

An old woman told me one day: "These people of today [412] have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former [178] times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 There is an indication in their language that at one time they • 174 used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and [192] machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal 412 instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

/449/

Preparation of Food

251 To keep meat from spoiling, it is first dried directly over the fire. Then it is kept on a rack over the fire, perhaps for several hours, but frequently all night. After this, it is placed a bit farther from the fire, but where the air will keep it dry, although not necessarily warm. I have seen meat kept for some ten days in this way, and doubtless it would have lasted longer had it not been eaten.

252 Meat preserved in this way is still regarded as raw and must be cooked in a pot before being eaten.

Small animals are cleaned, washed, and then boiled whole in a pot. If the animal is large, it is cut up into pieces small enough to fit into the pot. [174] The custom of leaving the skin and hair on them while they cook is perhaps a survival from the time when they did not have knives for skinning them. A string or piece of bark is tied to each piece of meat in order to be able to take it out of the pot to turn it. From time to time they take the meat out in order to prick it many times with a stick so that it will cook more quickly.

When it is finally ready, the head of the family, or the owner of the meat, shares it or divides it into portions which he distributes among his relatives or friendly families.

462 252 The task of cooking the meat is man's work. He is the owner of the pot, does the hunting, looks for the firewood, and divides and distributes the cooked meat. (Sometimes he sends a boy to deliver the meat to some family on the other side of the circle of dwellings.)

313 462 [412] The gathering of firewood for cooking food other than meat and for keeping the family warm at night is woman's work. For this reason the women use the ax much more than the men do.

252 Green platanos are generally peeled and placed directly over the embers, turned a few times, and /450/ taken off when they are found ready to eat. Or they may be placed on a live fire to be cooked, but without being peeled, in order that they may not be blackened. If it is necessary to cook a large quantity of green platanos quickly, they are peeled and boiled in a pot.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
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the upper reaches of the Caura and Caroni rivers; and on the tributaries of the upper reaches of the rivers Negro and Branco in Brazil.

In his classification based on families of language, Koch-Grünberg includes these scattered groups under the heading "Detached Groups", a term he uses for all linguistic groups that do not belong to either of the main families, though he acknowledges their anthropological and linguistic kinship. The fact that they inhabit the most distant and least accessible regions, that they are dispersed over so wide an area, and that they are subdivided into clans which frequently number no more than a dozen individuals, strongly suggests that these people are a "residual population" that has doubtless been thrust farther and farther back by successive waves of invasion.

The four or five thousand Piaroas and Guaharibos who inhabit the territory of the Middle Orinoco, between Puerto Ayacucho and San Fernando de Atabapo, are also classified as "Detached" by Koch-Grünberg. Anthropologically it would seem that these two peoples are comparatively remote from each other. As we have no information as to the time of their emergence and settlement in their present zone of habitation, we may perhaps assume that all of these groups constitute, or did once constitute, the original stratum of population, without necessarily coming from the same stem.

Three small clans, tiny pockets of people geographically isolated from each other which cannot as yet be related to any of the big families already mentioned, also appear on Koch-Grünberg's ethnological map. These are the Makus. They occur on the River Auari, where they occupy no more than a single hut; on the Ventuari, where they number about eighty; and on the Iñirida, where they are known as Puinabes. It has been suggested that these last could conceivably be the descendants of the Guaypunabis whose chief, Ceseru, joined with Solano in founding San Fernando de Atabapo and Santa Bárbara.

Thus the classification of the Indian peoples of the

similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958). Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumõna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumõna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumõna-u of the Yąnomamõ. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimõwi-bora in Yąnomamõ) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karõbã-bora in Yąnomamõ) near the present village of Kashorawã-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

126 36 [115] [199] Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information [124] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain [802] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiabä), two (porakäbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

175 before action could be taken, Nabëyoma's new husband left
648 Mahekodo-tedi for his own village (Buinabŏwei-tedi), taking with him Nabëyoma, her two sons by Husiwë, and his own son by Nabëyoma.

[997] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinabŏwei-tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but prudent measures to recover Nabëyoma. She was returned to her family in Brazil in late 1956. Remoriwë subsequently made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

• 174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the events themselves are accurately reported, especially those having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-
173 ferent occasions. The Yąnomamŏ are good historians when it
726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
*628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them. All of them, even young children, know who killed their relatives and the circumstances in which the killings took place. These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.
124 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

101 [014] Zerries (1964:19) has included the groups I studied in the Shamatari classification on the basis of information taken from Mahekodotedi informants. The members of these groups, however, deny the Shamatari identity and distinguish themselves from their southern neighbors, some of whom visit them regularly and are married into their villages.

101 361 [103] [551] The Shamatari,[1] according to my Bisaasi-tedi informants, take their name from one of the headmen, Kayabawä ("big tree"), who lived north of the Orinoco River in a village then [551] called Shihowä-tedi. Kayabawä was an unusually corpulent man and bore a second name, Shamatari, derived from their word (Shama) for the tapir, a large ungulate found throughout [103] tropical South America. Shamatari, when Shihowä-tedi split, led his faction south of the Orinoco River and settled in the headwaters of the river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u (see above), where his village became known as Mokayäaba-tedi. Other villages, related to Shihowä-tedi, moved into the Shukumöna River and Mavaca River basins after Shamatari's village was established, ultimately spreading as far southwest as the Cauabury headwaters in Brazil. The 101 [074] Shamatari expansion into this area took place around the turn of the century, according to my reconstruction of Shamatari history (see below). This is also supported by meagre

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[1] There is another "Shamatari" group in the tributaries of the Upper Parima River of Brazil; these are not to be confused with the Shamatari under discussion here, although both groups are Yąnomamö. See Vinci, 1959, for an impressionistic account of his brief contact with the Parima Shamatari.

114 initiated their work among this group, in Zerries' words, ". . . to come a step closer to the problem of the world's oldest cultural layer of the hunter and collector."[1] On arriving at Mahekodo-tedi, however, Zerries was surprised to discover that the Yąnomamö were not in fact hunters and gatherers, but horticulturists:

> To our great surprise we were obliged to conclude right from the start of our investigations that the Waika are above all dependent on the cultivation of the plantain (platano) to a considerable degree. (1958:177. My translation.)

114 134 224 222 241 Although Zerries acknowledges the current horticultural status of the Yąnomamö, his work is frequently characterized by attempts to portray the Yąnomamö as hunting and gathering people who have only recently adopted cultivation and are still in transition from a pure hunting and gathering stage to a purely horticultural one. Thus, Zerries argues that the Yąnomamö divide their year into seasons fixed by the ripening of individual species of wild fruits (which I have not been able to verify), implies that peach palm (pijiguao) was recently a collected rather than a cultivated fruit, describes the Yąnomamö settlement pattern and annual cycle as half-nomadic or semi-nomadic, and generally emphasizes the role of hunting and collecting in determining the cultural status of the Yąnomamö in South American culture history, all of which detract, I believe, from an understanding of their culture as it exists at the present time and probably has

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[1] 1964:1. My translation.

existed for the past several hundred years. At many points the data used by Zerries to infer that they were until recently hunters and gatherers lend themselves to other interpretations:

> Finally, the Waika connect the general word for food, "ni," with the word for archery, "niai," out of which results that in their conceptual world, subsistence itself in the last analysis results from hunting--which is symptomatic of the way of life of the hunting and gathering heritage of the Waika. (1958:180. My translation.)

The word nii (not ni) usually refers to vegetable food, most of which is cultivated by the Yąnomamö and generally does not include meat. The word for the latter, yąro, conversely, does not apply to vegetable food. Again, there are two words to describe hunger; ohi refers to that kind of hunger that can be satisfied by eating vegetable food, whereas naiiki is a kind of hunger that can only be satisfied by eating meat or fish. And, it is possible for individuals not to be ohi but be naiiki. One could easily argue that subsistence and cultivation are intimately linked, as their word for one form of hunger (ohi) is similar to their word for taro: ohina. The similarity, then, between the word for archery (niaö) and vegetable food (nii, not ni) tells us nothing about the cultural status of the Yąnomamö either in the past or at the present.

In general, Zerries' data are excellent and his conclusions sound; and his major work (1964) will remain the basic ethnographic source on the Yąnomamö for many years.

The Frobenius Expedition was followed by the work of

10:Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Patanowë-tedi, Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi and Reyabobŏwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Paruritawë-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

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historical relationships between villages to properly interpret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi claimed to be from Patanowë-tedi; my initial conclusions concerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were living together. I therefore investigated in detail the historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

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I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I cannot illustrate Yanomamö political behavior without recourse to details of the village movements and the wars that caused them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mŝmaribŏwei-tedi and Mayabobŏwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

Table 5: History of Namowei-tedi, Summarised.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Konata	1875-1900	Raids from Obotawë-tedi, Boreta-tedi, Bokçoiwë-urihi-tedi and Aramata-tedi	None	---
Wareta	1900-1910	Raids from Shihowë- and Husirawë-urihi-tedi	None	---
Namowei	1910-1920	Raids from Boreta-tedi	None	---
Hahoyaoba	1920-1925	Poor Soil	None	---
Patanowë	1925-1943 (1966)	Internal feud led to split and raiding between factions; site still occupied	Village size and frequent fighting within village	Strained at first, then hostile
Shihota	1943-1949	Raids from Patanowë-tedi	None	---
Mahekodo	1951-1952	Suspicion that their hosts planned to kill them	None	---
Kobou	1952-1953	Fear of Shamatari raids	Internal feuds over women	Friendly
Monou and Barawë	1954-1966 1954-1959	Barawë abandoned because foreigners invited Indians to move to Mavaca; Monou still occupied	None	---
Bisaasi	1959-1966	---	Village size and frequent arguments	Friendly

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Table 6: History of Paruritawë-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Pre-Aramamisi	? - 1880	Raids from Shihowë- and Mokayëaba-tedi	None	---
Aramamisi	1880-1900	Raids from Shihowë-, Konabuma and Mokayëaba-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Shirakobŏwei	1900-1910 [1900-1966]	Internal feuds led to separation of several factions that raided parent group: Karehewë-, Matakuwë-, and previous enemies, Shihowë- and Mokayëaba-tedi. Aramamisi-tedi group remained at Shirakobŏwei after other factions left	a. 1900: Karehewë's faction left because of a feud over a woman. b. 1900: Waiyahowë's faction left for unknown causes. c. 1910: Matakuwë's faction left to aid Karehewë and to avoid raids from Shihowë-tedi.	a. Hostile b. Friendly; Waiyahowë's group was decimated by an epidemic and no longer exists. c. Hostile
Borabŏwei	1910-1935	Raids from Karawatari- and Aramamisi-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Kayurewë	1935-1940	Raids from Aramamisi- and Namowei-tedi	None	---
Konabuma	1940-1945	See next column	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Paruritawë	1945-1960	Raids from Sibarariwë's village (Mŏwëraoba-tedi)	Minor internal feud	Friendly
Mŏmaribŏwei Reyabobŏwei	1960-1965	Present locations	None	---

10:Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[Namowei-tedi Group]
[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

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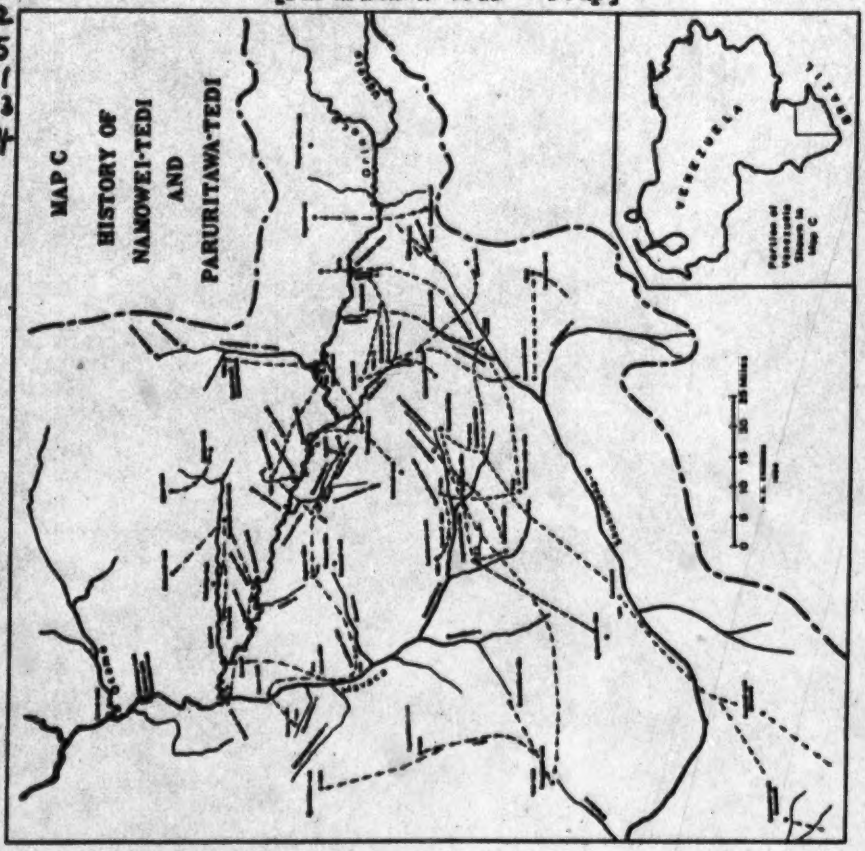
MAP C
HISTORY OF
NAMOWEI-TEDI
AND
PARURITAWA-TEDI



marriage alliances on which I have complete data have taken place between the Shamatari and the two villages of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi. Over 50% of recently contracted marriages[1] that represent breaches of the marriage rule preferences were the result of alliances between the villages whose histories are given here. It is, accordingly, important to understand the political and historical circumstances that led to these alliances.

A. The History of the Namowei-tedi Group

The Namowei-tedi lived in four different areas between ca. 1880 and 1943, splitting into two villages in 1943 shortly after they moved to their fifth location. I outline below the events that led to the abandoning of the first four areas and discuss in more detail the activities of the villages after they established their fifth location. I will treat the Paruritawë-tedi group similarly in Part B of this chapter.

Area 1: Konata-tedi (See Map C)

While living in this area the Naomwei-tedi were on friendly terms with several Shamatari villages, numbering them among their allies. The Shamatari as a distinct group were just coming into being between 1880 and 1900. Intermarriages between the Namowei-tedi and members of several Shamatari villages occurred and a number of individuals in the present villages of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi trace descent back to Shamatari ancestors.

[1] These data on marriages are taken from the villages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

descent back to Shamatari ancestors. Shihowë-tedi and its splinter village, Mokayëaba-tedi, were two Shamatari allies of the Namowei-tedi in this period of the latter's history.

The Namowei-tedi got into a war with a cluster of villages allied to Obotawë-tedi over a woman from the latter village. The woman joined the Namowei-tedi against the wishes of her own people. This led to a club fight between the two groups and, later, to a shooting war. Obotawë-tedi recruited aid from their allies, the Bokoiwë-Urihi-tedi, Boreta-tedi, and Aramata-tedi while the Namowei-tedi were supported by the two Shamatari villages mentioned above. A number of men from each of the two groups were killed in the raiding that developed and several Namowei-tedi women were abducted. Obotawë-tedi and their allies forced Namowei-tedi to abandon their garden and take refuge with the Wareta-tedi, a group that had just abandoned the area (ca. 1890-1900) occupied by the Namowei-tedi because of a war with the Boreta-tedi. As the Namowei-tedi had not had time to make a new garden when the raiding became intense enough to force them to move, they moved into the village of Wareta-tedi and lived off the produce of the latter's garden.

Area 2: Wareta-tedi

The residents of Wareta-tedi had their own war with Shihowë-tedi when they were joined by the Namowei-tedi, but were on friendly terms with Husirawë-urihi-tedi, a village to their north. The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë,

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawë's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowë and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowë-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kähö--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakö), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hąhoyaoba-täka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hąhoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwë-tedi and Ashadowë-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The new garden at Mahoyaoba-tedi did not produce satisfactorily so the Namowei-tedi established a new one south of the Orinoco River, Patanowä-tëka, and moved there about 1925-30.[1]

Area 5: Patanowä-tëka

This site has a complicated history. The Namowei-tedi lived here as one group, abandoned it, split into two villages, and each faction returned to it only to abandon it again. Ultimately the site was reoccupied by one of these factions, and that faction presently lives there.

Most of the present generation of adults in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi were born at Patanowä-tëka.

Three important events took place while the Namowei-tedi lived at Patanowä-tëka. The first of these was the development of hostilities between the Namowei-tedi and a Shamatari village. As this Shamatari village figures prominently in the later history of one faction of the Namowei-tedi, I make a point of identifying it here: Sibarariwä's village, located on the Mavaca River. The approximate date of the initiation of these hostilities was 1938-40, an estimate based on the ages of older children born at Patanowä-tëka of women abducted from Sibarariwä's village. Up to the start of the war with Sibarariwä's group, the Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with all of the Shamatari villages and visited a number of them regularly. Several marriage

[1] This is the only case I have of a garden being abandoned for soil fertility reasons.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 *628 726 583 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with Sibarariwë's group started, but these eventually broke down before any women were actually exchanged.

174 *621 *628 The second important event was the secession of a section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

194 361 *628 796 The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the initiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi sections (Patanowë-tedi) and villages to its [illegible]; this war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowë-tedi from the time it began until now.

174 *628 731 721 In order, the particulars of these three events are, briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a number of years after they moved to Patanowë-tëka. However, [175] several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwë, Sibarariwë's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Mamikininiwë, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwë with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwë was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hekurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowë-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rǫkuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowë-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and abandoned Patanowë-tëka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at Patanowë-tëka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (Brararabǫwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

and returned to Patanowä-tëka. A segment of the group that returned to Patanowä-tëka immediately began making a new garden (Shihota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowä-tëka, anticipating that further hostilities with the Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowä-tëka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders' arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group at Patanowä-tëka abandoned their village and rejoined their agnates at the latter's new garden, Shihota-tëka, whence they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group from Shihota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found at Hasaböwä-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasaböwä-tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowä-tedi.

With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-tedi raided the Shihota-tedi and killed a younger brother of Makuwä. The Shihota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-tedi, killing Husiwä (Nabäyoma's husband), Hoari, and Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the Wanidima-tedi in which the Shihota-tedi lost Ushuenawä and the two younger brothers of Paruriwä, and had one of their women, Buhiomi, seized.

Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shihota-tedi were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one elsewhere.

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-täka to Kreiböwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawä and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowä-täka, and became known as the Patanowä-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawä-tedi and Kashorawä-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawä, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawä-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowä-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowä-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawä-tedi visited Patanowä-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowä-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawä-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawä-tedi. Hasaböwä-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowä-tedi and Yabitawä-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174 the Patanowä-tedi.[1] Thus, the Patanowä-tedi were surrounded
726
*628 on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowä-tedi,
722 remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowä-tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the Patanowä-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiwä.

174 By the time the Patanowä-tedi had gotten into this
*628 situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the
361
602 Patanowä-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their
722 agnates, whence they harried the Hasaböwä-tedi and the groups north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to effect a rapprochement with their agnates, and a few individuals from the Kreiböwei-tedi group visited the Patanowä-tedi. One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowä-tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

361 The Patanowä-tedi are presently living between two
*628 sites: Patanowä-tëka and Shamata-tëka, a situation forced on
722 them by the hostile relationships they have with all their neighbors except the Ashadowä-tedi.

128 Area 6: Shihota-tëka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

174 Area 7: Kreiböwei-tedi
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361 This site was established in 1949. After fleeing
722 from Shihota to avoid the raids of the Patanowä-tedi, the
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[1] At this point the Patanowä-tedi returned to Patanowä-tëka from their three sites of Wanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawä.

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tăka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

174 men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari,
175
727 and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape.
[726] These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakĕkŏ where
[103] they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tĕka.
[241] Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the
[752] wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-
tĕka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly
*[28] after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited
by Shinanokawĕ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his
followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the
Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them
to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made
a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

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175 Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi
721 undertook a revenge raid against Riakowĕ's group. They
*628 killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collect-
361 ing their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tĕka as they pro-
ceeded from Riakowĕ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was
early in 1951.

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175 For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi
361 worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi
241 at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more
*621 plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the
Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before
Kobou-tĕka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There had been a number of club fights between the two factions over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started (Monou-tëka and Barawë-tëka) before the Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other considerations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as they could. It was rumored that their protectors were planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women. This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreibŏwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwë-tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that the Kreibŏwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the two men killed by the Kreibŏwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

[Kamowei-tedi Group]

Mahekodo-tedi became directly involved in the war against the Shamatari and needed the assistance of the Kreibŏwei-tedi. This prevented them from killing the Kreibŏwei-tedi men and seizing their women.

Makolima-tedi and Karohi-tedi, two allies of Mahekodo-tedi, assisted the latter in the revenge raids against the Shamatari; the Kreibŏwei-tedi, of course, participated in these raids. On one raid they found Riakowë's village abandoned so they burned down the houses and destroyed the garden: the plantains were cut down and the root crops dug up. The raiders pushed on, following Riakowë's trail, and caught up with their enemies on the Shukumŏna-u River near the village of Karawatari-urihi-tedi where the followers of Riakowë had fled to avoid the revenge raids from the Mahekodo-tedi. The raiders found Riakowë swimming in the river, together with his son, a boy about 7 years old, and two of the girls, Kayoma and Waiimi, abducted during the treacherous feast. They killed Riakowë and took all the children. On their way back to Mahekodo-tedi, however, the raiders were chased by the Shamatari, who managed to get ahead of them. The Shamatari surprised them the following morning, killing one man from Makolima-tedi while he slept. In the fighting that followed, the Shamatari lost another man.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi and the Mahekodo-tedi unsuccessfully raided the Shamatari a number of times after this raid, but eventually discontinued the raiding when they concluded that they had chased the Shamatari out of the area.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Area 9: Kobou-tëka

The Kreibŏwei-tedi parted with their protectors as soon as this garden began producing. They lived at this site only long enough to complete their two new gardens at Monou and Barawë, moving into the latter when they, in turn, began producing. "Kobou" in Yanomamŏ means "let it go at that," or, in more vernacular terms, "to hell with that garden." Kobou was abandoned shortly after it was made, having served as a temporary base for the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they completed their split. It would not have been necessary to complete the splitting of the village by making two new gardens had there been no war with the Shamatari. But, as one faction of the group made their garden elsewhere, the others were reluctant to remain at Kobou and bear the brunt of the revenge raids from the Shamatari. Thus, they too made a new garden. Again, it would not have been necessary to make Kobou-tëka had Mahekodo-tedi been a dependable ally. But as the Kreibŏwei-tedi suspected that their erstwhile protectors were plotting against them, they followed that course of action most expedient at the time. As they had already started Kobou, it was simply more practicable to complete that garden and move out of Mahekodo-tedi as soon as possible, rather than begin making two gardens and delay their move until these gardens began producing.

Areas 10 and 11: Monou-tedi and Barawë-tedi

After separating into two groups the Kreibŏwei-tedi

remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-thka was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanabŏwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowã-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

The faction that moved to Barawã remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawã-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreibŏwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Pararitawã-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

mouth of the Mavaca River. The Paruritawä-tedi had split from Sibarariwä's village about 1945, and had not been involved in the treacherous feast of 1950 in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost so many men. The Paruritawä-tedi were still on good terms with Sibarariwä's followers, and the members of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi persuaded them to invite Sibarariwä and his group to a feast. Using their agnatic ties and existing friendship, the Paruritawä-tedi succeeded in getting the followers of Sibarariwä to accept the invitation, but a malaria epidemic prevented all but a handful of people from actually attending the feast: five men and four women. With the assistance of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the Paruritawä-tedi killed three of the guests and seized all four of the women.

By participating in this treachery, the Paruritawä-tedi subordinated themselves to the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. At the present time the Paruritawä-tedi live in two villages, and are intimately involved in a bride-exchange network with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter two villages receiving more women (and men doing bride service) than they give. The Paruritawä-tedi have no other allies, as they are the front of the expansion into this region and the only villages to their east are allies of Sibarariwä. Despite the fact that they would like to make friendly contact with Sibarariwä's group again, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, as we shall see, prevent them from doing so by chicane and threat. Thus, Monou-tedi and the

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Bisaasi-tedi are the dominant partners in the bride-exchange network with their Shamatari allies, a dominance that is reflected in the disproportionate number of women they have managed to coerce out of their allies.

While I conducted my field work the Bisaasi-tedi lived in two villages on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. The group on the east bank was beginning to split by the time I left the field, and the split took place a few months later,[1] one of the factions moving to the north bank of the Orinoco River, but still within view of the other group.

B. The History of the Paruritawä-tedi

The Shamatari came into being as an identifiable group shortly before 1900. The Shamatari identity, as I have shown above (p. 28 ff.), is a function of the historical connections between the villages that split off from Shihowä-tedi's parental group, as well as geographical considerations.

My informants consistently spoke of two 'true' Shamatari men: Kayabawä (Shamatari) and Matakuwä. The villages of these two men have a common origin, but I was unable to get data on the nature of the events that led to the separation of these two groups. This event took place long before the life-span of my oldest informants, and none of them knew any details of the splitting. By 1875, however, there were two distinct Shamatari groups north of the Orinoco headwaters, one of which bore the name Shihowä-tedi. Kayabawä

[1] Personal communication, James P. Barker.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

(Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukumöna-u basin, becoming known as the Mokayëaba-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near a mountain called Aramamisi-këkö, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparce up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukumöna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawë's and Matakuwë's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwë's group, mentioning Kayabawë's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawë-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawë's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwë's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawë-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowä-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Yąnomamö; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.[1]

[1] I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yąnomamö populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

168

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-kähö

174 36 722 62 (124) Matakuwä's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawä's group. The village at Aramamisi-kähö, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Möwäraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawä-tedi, Kohoroshi-tedi, Mömariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

174 175 36 62 976 628 72 726 A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Rahuawä-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Aramamisi-kähö population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwä's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukumöna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

174 175 621 628 361

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[103] [1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

others. Matakuwë's group was being raided by Kayabawë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-këkö. These raids forced Matakuwë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-këkö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewë moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Börösöwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwë's group. They feared Börösöwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowë, split off from

174 Matakuwë's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An
221
361 epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors
[731] were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwë and his group separated from Orakawë and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shirakoböwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwë and his followers separated from Orakawë's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwë decided to support Karehewë in the dispute over the death of a member of the
[722] latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwë and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shihowë-tedi, who continued
[628] to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewë, Matakuwë
[726] and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawë's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Boraböwei

174 Matakuwë and his followers moved here about 1910.
195
361 Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi,
628 forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a
602 number of years Matakuwë's group lived alternatively between
726 these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewë
241 after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Boraböwei, and Matakuwë's group fled to Kayurewë, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma.

• 174 Matakuwä's group had three factions. Oroshowä, a
175 man belonging to Matakuwä's faction, took a woman away from
*621 her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an
578 internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and
361 Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place
174 about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwä's vil-
175 lage to avenge the death of Biawawä, the man killed in the
*621 feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was un-
722 able to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's
174 group to found their own villages: Warabawä-tedi, led by
175 Newariwä, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwä. These last two
*621 villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time,
361 as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded
[622] foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Mis-
[599] sionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group
361 lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi
[574] danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left
*[628] Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with
[721] them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 In about 1935 Matakuwä and his group moved to Kayurewä
36 to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.
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*[628] [1]Warabawä-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabäyoma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 4: KayurewÄ

174 175 +628 926 861 The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid MatakuwÄ's group at KayurewÄ, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. MatakuwÄ's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of RuwahiwÄ, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at PatanowÄ-tëka. RuwahiwÄ was MatakuwÄ's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided MatakuwÄ's group at KayurewÄ, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, MatakuwÄ moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174 +621 361 (622) (101) About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by MatakuwÄ's group, the group split into two villages. One of them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by MatakuwÄ's son, SibarariwÄ. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumëna-u River and took the name ParuritawÄ-tedi, led by (578) (721) WeiamamowÄ. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

174 36 +628 722 175 SibarariwÄ's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the ParuritawÄ-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Aramamisi-tedi and the ParuritawÄ-tedi themselves forced SibarariwÄ's group to abandon Konabuma

and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few years, and by 1950 Sibarariwä's group was living at Amąrokobö-wei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreiböwei-tedi was conducted while Sibarariwä's group was here. After 1950 Sibarariwä's group fled south to avoid the raids of the survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden of Dądamoböwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids mounted by the Paruritawä-tedi, and Sibarariwä returned to Amąrokoböwei about 1955. The Paruritawä-tedi eventually became friendly to Sibarariwä's group and were able to lure some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964 Sibarariwä's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca River, being known as the Möwäraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and Mąmariböwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this location about the time I started my field work, and killed one man.

Area 6: Paruritawä-tedi

The Paruritawä-tedi made friendly contact with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawä-tedi to invite members of Sibarariwä's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid of the Paruritawä-tedi, murdered three men and seized four women. Sibarariwä's group avenged this by mounting raids

against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mõmaribõwei and Reyabobõwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyabobõwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyabobõwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.